

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 011107
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O SGOLDSMITH

APPROVED BY: S/S-O SGOLDSMITH

-----022819 161622Z /46

O 161602Z JAN 78 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 011107

NODIS

ONLY FOR AMB EARLE

FOLLOWING REPEAT MOSCOW 0643 ACTION STATE JAN 14.

QUOTE S E C R E T MOSCOW 643

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM UR US

SUBJECT: SALT II: GROMYKO ON MODERNIZATION AND ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTE
M

1. DURING SENATOR STEVENSON'S CALL ON GROMYKO
(SEPTEL) QUESTIONS RELATED TO SALT-II WERE
DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH. THE SENATOR FIRST
MENTIONED SALT AS ONE OF THE AREAS IN WHICH FORWARD
MOVEMENT WOULD IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE OF US-SOVIET
RELATIONS AND THUS FACILITE RESOLUTION OF OTHER
ISSUES, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE ECONOMIC AND
TRADE AREA.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 011107

2. GROMYKO IMMEDIATELY PICKED UP THE REFERENCE TO SALT
AND OFFERED THE SOVIET VIEW: THAT NEGOTIATIONS OVER
THE PAST YEAR HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH AND THE QUESTIONS WHICH
REMAIN ARE VERY FEW--HE REPEATED WITH EMPHASIS "VERY FEW"
HE REFRAINED FROM ESTIMATING THE PRECISE DISTANCE BETWEEN
OUR POSITIONS BUT SAID THE SOVIETS "WOULD LIKE TO HOPE

THAT WE WILL SUCCEED." THEN, AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SOVIET FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE, HE CITED THE SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF CRUISE MISSILES WITHIN THE CEILINGS. THIS, HE SAID WAS A MAJOR CONCESSION OF PRINCIPLE SINCE IT WAS THE SOVIET POSITION THAT CRUISE MISSILES SHOULD BE ELIMINATED ENTIRELY.

3. SENATOR STEVENSON DESCRIBED THE SITUATION IN THE SENATE AS HE SAW IT, AND SAID THAT HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT THE AGREEMENT WE WOULD REACH ON CRUISE MISSILES AND NUMBERS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SENATE. HE REMARKED THAT A FEW YEARS BACK SOME INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE SENATE WERE STILL PRESSING FOR A SUPERIORITY OF STRATEGIC ARMS, BUT NOW THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUIVALENCY OR SUFFICIENCY IS WIDELY ACCEPTED. HOWEVER, HE ANTICIPATED TWO MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE SENATE WHEN A SALT-II TREATY COMES UP FOR RATIFICATION. THE FIRST IS THE MODERNIZATION QUESTION AND THE SECOND--WHICH COULD NOT BE STRESSED TO MUCH-- IS THE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION. IN THE LATTER REGARD, THE REPORTS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE DEVELOPING AN ANTI-SATELLITE CAPABILITY ARE PARTICULARLY DISTURBING, SINCE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD UNDERMINE THE CAPACITY FOR NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION. IN THE SENATOR'S VIEW, THIS QUESTION MUST BE RESOLVED IF WE ARE TO HAVE A SALT-II TREATY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 011107

4. GROMYKO ADDRESSED THE VERIFICATION ISSUE FIRST, SAYING THAT THE FIRM SOVIET POSITION IS THAT VERIFICATION MUST BE BY NATIONAL MEANS. THESE MEANS HAVE BEEN PROVED VALID BY OUR EXPERIENCE WITH SALT - I. THE SOVIETS ARE CONVINCED THAT NEITHER SIDE CAN CONCEAL WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS FIELD. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT BOTH SIDES MUST HAVE CLEAN HANDS ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT CARD TRICKS WILL NOT WORK. HOWEVER, EVEN BEFORE WE HAVE REACHED A SALT - II AGREEMENT SOME ARE TRYING TO SOW SEEDS OF DOUBT BY RAISING ARTIFICIAL ISSUES.

5. CONTINUING ON THE MODERNIZATION QUESTION, GROMYKO STATED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT OPPOSED TO AN AGREEMENT COVERING MODERNIZATION. THEY ARE WILLING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC CRITERIA AND INDICES (POKAZATELI). HE STRESSED THAT HE IS TALKING ABOUT MODERNIZATION AND NOT NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN GENEVA, HE SAID, HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO NEGOTIATE LANGUAGE COVERING MODERNIZATION. HOWEVER, IF THE OTHER SIDE PROPOSES "ONE, TWO, THREE, FIVE OR TEN" INDICATORS REGARDING EACH BOLT IN A MISSILE LAUNCHER,

AND CONSIDERS EVERY CHANGE OF A BOLT AS MODERNIZATION, THEN THIS APPROACH CHANGES THE QUESTION OF MODERNIZATION TO ANOTHER ONE AND CAN ONLY GIVE RISE TO DOUBTS, SINCE IT IS AN ARTIFICIAL ISSUE.

6. THE SENATOR REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT HE WHO WAS RAISING THESE ISSUES. IN REGARD TO VERIFICATION, THE SOVIETS HAD RAISED THE ISSUE BY TESTING AN ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON. THIS DEVELOPMENT CREATES A MAJOR NEW ISSUE REGARDING NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION. WHEN QUESTIONS ARE RAISED REGARDING THE EFFICACY OF NATIONAL MEANS, THE WHOLE SALT PROCESS IS SUBJECT TO DOUBT.

7. GROMYKO ASKED RHETORICALLY SINCE WHEN IS THIS A
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 011107

QUESTION OF SUCH CONCERN? NEITHER SIDE HAS VALID CLAIMS AGAINST THE OTHER IN REGARD TO THE VERIFICATION OF SALT - I. ALL SORTS OF FABLES (NEBYLITSY) OF COURSE ARE BANDIED ABOUT BY THE PRESS. THESE ARE FABLES AND UNTRUTHS AND NOT THE BASIS FOR ASSERTING CLAIMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER IN THE SALT PROCESS. THE SOVIETS SOMETIMES WONDER WHY THE NEUTRON BOMB REMAINS OUTSIDE THE SALT CONTEXT, BUT THEY DO NOT RAISE IT IN SALT, SINCE IF THEY DID SO THERE WOULD BE NO END OF QUESTIONS TO BE DEALT WITH IN SALT.

8. SENATOR STEVENSON REPLIED THAT HE WAS NOT RAISING THE MATTER OF AN ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON ON THE BASIS OF PRESS REPORTS, WHICH HE RECOGNIZED COULD BE INACCURATE. NOR COULD IT BE HELD THAT THIS QUESTION IS NOT PART OF SALT SINCE NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF SALT.

9. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE, BUT OUTSIDE SALT. THEY DO NOT CONCEDE THAT THEY ARE ENGAGED IN THIS ACTIVITY. FABLES AND UNTRUTHS ABOUND IN THE WESTERN PRESS. SOME TIME BACK THERE WERE ACCUSATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE DEVELOPING A LASER WEAPON, BUT THIS WAS DROPPED WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THERE WAS NOTHING TO IT. (KORNIYENKO OBSERVED THAT THE REPORTS STEMMED FROM FIRES ON GAS WELLS IN SIBERIA.) IF PEOPLE ASCRIBE MYTHICAL INTENTIONS TO SOVIETS AND THEN MAKE THIS A CONDITION TO AGREEMENT, THEN THERE CAN BE NO AGREEMENT. THE LEVEL HEADED SHOULD PUT MATTERS IN THEIR PROPER PLACE. THE SOVIETS WANT AN AGREEMENT AND WILL DO ALL THEY CAN TO ACHIEVE ONE BUT THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO RESPOND TO ARTIFICIAL ISSUES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 011107

10. THE SENATOR SAID THAT HE WAS NOT CHALLENGING WHAT GROMYKO HAS SAID, BUT WISHED TO MAKE SURE THAT HE UNDERSTOOD HIM CORRECTLY. WAS HE SAYING THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT DEVELOPING OR TESTING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON SYSTEM AND HAD NO INTENTION OF DEVELOPING ONE?

11. GROMYKO REPLIED, "AS I SAID, THIS IS A FABLE (NEBYLITSA)." SOMETIMES, AFTER A HEAVY MEAL, A PERSON CAN HAVE NIGHTMARES. MAYBE THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED TO SOMEONE. EACH SENATOR, GROMYKO ADDED, SHOULD BE GUIDED BY COMMON SENSE AND HIS OWN CONSCIENCE. THE SOVIETS WILL FACILITATE A NEW SALT ACCORD, BUT THERE MUST BE "A CERTAIN EVEN-HANDEDNESS" (RAVNOMERNOST') IF AN AGREEMENT IS TO BE POSSIBLE.

12. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SALTDEL GENEVA. MATLICK UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CAT-B, MEETINGS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS, SATELLITES, MISSILES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE011107
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O GOLDSMITH
Enclosure: REPEAT OF MOSCOW 643
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N780001-0462
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780159/aaaabxmx.tel
Line Count: 193
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5a8b63e3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3767554
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SALT II: GROMYKO ON MODERNIZATION AND ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTE M
TAGS: PARM, TSPA, UR, US, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH), (STEVENSON, ADLAI E III)
To: GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5a8b63e3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014